

then the least, he actually put his principles into action by the expulsion of the Randolph negroes. Illinois has excluded free negroes from her territory by constitutional provisions. I know not how many free negro mobs have been gotten up from time to time in our Northern cities. With these Northern manifestations of hostility to the doctrine of social and civil equality with the negro race before our eyes, how can gentlemen expect us to welcome and endure a state of things so abhorrent to them?

We are charged with doing violence to the moral, liberal, and regenerating free principles of the age in which we live, when we ask to be allowed to emigrate with our slaves to New Mexico and California. The up-rising of France and the overthrow of Louis Philippe have been referred to, and those of us who voted applauding sympathy to Frenchmen are charged with inconsistency. In France there is a homogeneous population. The difference of castes does not prevail. No natural jealousies or antipathies exist, growing out of difference of color. Hence there could be in France no objection to placing the entire population upon the basis of political and social equality, allowing intellectual and moral

stratagems to regulate the grade of individual elevation. I think there are insuperable barriers to this equality among the black and the white races, and I am not a bigot, and hence I am not inconsistent when I sympathize with the negro in his efforts to establish a republic. But, sir, the recent insurrection in Paris furnishes a most striking illustration of the danger likely to result from the sudden withdrawal of the ligaments by which society is bound, and to which it is accustomed. We have seen multitudes, *ouvriers*, under the fasciated flag, engaged in labor, living upon the public treasury in idleness, until it was too late to stop the process, and they would result from the continuance of the system. We have seen the same persons organizing to overthrow the Government so soon as their craft was in danger, inscribing upon their insurrectionary banners, "pillage, if victorious; confiscation, if defeated." Sir, if the working classes of France, who have been emancipated from the shackles of monarchy, forgetting their duties to their country, their rights of just laws and social order, and organizing for public plunder, march to the accomplishment of their nefarious purposes through scenes of fratricidal carnage, what may we not expect

from the emancipation of three millions of slaves, and immediately coöperating upon them equal social and political rights? The negroes get their freedom from the North, in their incessant attacks of our peculiar institutions, and they are not by a zeal without knowledge. Let them coolly look at facts, and they will find involuntary servitude enough, besides negro slavery to deserve their sympathy. What is the relation between a parent and child but a system of involuntary servitude, differently regulated? The child is born under the authority of the parent, on the part of the child until the period fixed by law arrives, when parental control and authority cease? I admit that filial affection induces a willing obedience to a great extent; but there are cases, many of them, where the service is exacted without the authority of the parent. I concede that this relation of parent and child is not regulated by law, deserves the name of *holy*. I admit the great difference between the relation of parent and child and that of master and slave. only refer to the former to show that there is a case where will and actions of one person are not controlled by the actions of another, during minority, subjected from necessity to the control of the parent, and the latter, a riot at which nofrage terminates is regulated by law, and hence the service of the child may be continued long after his intellectual and physical capacity have enabled him to provide

There is yet another instance of involuntary servitude imposed by law, not for the punishment of crime, but to display the noblest humanity. What are our lunatic asylums but houses, not prisons, in which unwilling subjects, not slaves, are subjected by law to the control of another's will. Their servitude is involuntary, and continues through the lucid interval, and that is justified upon the ground that the patient is not yet thoroughly relieved of his malady. Now, sir, I am well aware that in putting these cases of involuntary servitude, sanctioned by law and not imposed for the punishment of

crime, I may be doing little else than laying the foundation for railery and more indignation in the Northern mind and heart. I admit the vast difference in degree between these cases of involuntary servitude and that of negro slavery, but I defy the intellect of man to make them less than cases of involuntary servitude, in which the will or volition of one person is controlled and subjected, according to law, to the will of another. In the parental relation the father, too, may maintain an action against the seducer of his daughter, and recover

damages, upon the idea that he has a property in her service as his servant; and it is this idea of property in the service of his child which alone enables him to maintain the action. Now, sir, these things prove that society, for its welfare, may subject men and women, until they are twenty-one, or any other age, to the control of parents or guardians, and lunatics, even during their lucid intervals, to the custody and management of keepers. I might mention the victims of poverty in county poor-houses as a further illustration. I may be told by

gentlemen from the North that I am putting cases where the law acts through benevolence towards those who are restrained in their liberty and volition. Be it so. I am not now dealing with motives; my object is to establish the fact that involuntary servitude may and does exist, in harmony with the welfare and good order of society, without being a punishment for crime. An apprenticeship to learn a trade is another

strong illustration. My object in putting these cases is to show that involuntary servitude is not the horrible thing it is represented to be, and that when the permanent safety and welfare of the community require it, negro slavery may be tolerated and regulated by law, especially when those among whom it exists are not at all responsible for its introduction.

Can any good result from the denunciation of slaveholders? Will it benefit the slave to exasperate his master? If the abolitionist could, but have the power to do so, would he

the abolitionists' bodies but K&W that his in temperate censure and misguided and ill-digested expressions of sympathy have had no other effect than to tighten the cords of slavery, surely he would allow his reason to control his feelings, and he would leave to the people of the South the entire management of their domestic institutions in their own way. If we are afflicted with evil, let us judge. We reject obtrusive and gratuitous instruction. I do not doubt but that there are cruel and inhuman masters. I do not doubt but that many individ-

There are cases of cruelty in the matrimonial relation, and for many of which divorces are granted: but will any one assert that the relation of husband and wife is necessarily cruel and inhuman? It is not true, sir, that African slavery is necessarily accompanied by acts of cruelty. In my own State we have laws to take slaves from cruel masters, and apprentices likewise. So also we have laws to take children from cruel parents, and to release wives from cruel husbands. There is

nothing more fallacious than to make a few individual cases the basis of conclusions in regard to the whole subject. Now, sir, I do not hesitate to assert that there is not a laboring population to be found on earth who, in the general, are better provided for than the slaves of Kentucky. Our tables of population prove beyond controversy that the entire slave population of the United States are treated with kindness and hu-

manity. It is the master's pecuniary interest not to abuse the slave, and there is a guaranty for good treatment, if no higher motive existed. But look at the facts. Can a down-trodden half-starved, half-clothed, miserable, worked-to-death population increase and duplicate their numbers, as the slave population and free blacks of the United States have done? In 1790 there were only 59,466 free persons of color in the United States. In 1840 there were 386,303—making an increase of more than six-fold. No other fact is necessary to prove the existence of a strong disposition to emancipate. The importation of slaves from abroad was allowed up to the 1st of

January, 1808. I have no knowledge how many were imported between 1790 and that time. I therefore take the census of 1810 as the basis of a calculation to show how the black population, free and slave, has increased. The total colored population in 1810 was 1,377,810. In 1840 it was 2,873,759. Thus in thirty years they increased at the rate of 208½ per cent. Now, compare this with our free white population.

In 1810 we had 5,862,004 free whites. In 1840 we had 14,189,695. Thus the increase with the free whites was at the rate of 242 per cent., making a difference of only 33½ per cent. in thirty years. But it must be remembered that, during these thirty years, the tide of European emigration has been pouring in upon us at the rate of hundreds of thousands, to help to swell the numbers of free whites; and that, during the

help to swell the numbers of free whites, and thus bring to a greater part of the same period, we have sent out black emigrants to Liberia. Regarding the accessions to our population from abroad, it would materially reduce the 33½ per cent. of difference, and show that our black population had multiplied nearly if not quite as fast in a period of thirty years as the white. I regard this as demonstration that there is no

just foundation or those charges of cruelty and inhumanity which are constantly put forth to the prejudice of the people of the South. I feel assured that there is no Southern State but will legislate still further, if it be necessary, to secure humane treatment to their slaves. I hope, therefore, that our Northern brethren will dry up their tears and distress themselves no more.

I have said as much to vindicate my section of the country against harassing and offensive attacks from those who have only done mischief by attempting to interfere in our concerns. I am no advocate for the institution of negro slavery. I believe its existence in Kentucky to be prejudicial to the best interests of the white population, and if I had the power to colonize and remove every slave within the borders of my

own State I would most cheerfully do it. But I am deeply impressed with the conviction, that to liberate our slaves and retain them among us, either with full or partial privileges as free citizens, would be a calamity which would induce every sane man who could escape, to fly from a society so constituted. The reasons for this opinion I have long since published and written. I am, therefore, only willing to emanci-

insured and primed. I am, therefore, only writing to expatriate upon the condition of colonization. But, when the people of the South propose colonization, how are they met by those of the North? We are told that it is cruel and inhuman to expatriate free negroes or slaves, and that the scheme is impracticable. I will endeavor to satisfy all reasonable considerate men that one-half the expenses of the Mexican war

invested in a six per cent. stock would, by a proper system of African colonization, in less than fifty years extirpate slavery